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OCTOBER MEETING, 1899.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the June meeting was read and approved; and the list of donors to the Library during the summer vacation was also read.

Messrs. Charles C. Smith, Thornton K. Lothrop, and Charles R. Codman were appointed a House Committee, to have the general charge of the Society's new building.

The President announced the death, during the summer, of two Resident Members, the Hon. Walbridge A. Field and Mr. William W. Greenough, and of two Corresponding Members, Messrs. Charles J. Stillé, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Amos Perry, of Providence, Rhode Island.

Charles J. Stillé, LL.D., was elected a Corresponding Member February 11, 1869, and died August 11, 1899. He was born in Philadelphia September 23, 1819, and graduated at Yale College in the class of 1839. In 1866 he was elected Professor of History in the University of Pennsylvania, and from 1868 to 1880 he was Provost of that institution. In 1893 he was elected President of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, which office he held at the time of his death. During the Rebellion he was an active member of the United States Sanitary Commission, and published numerous pamphlets in support of the government, of which the best known was entitled "How a Free People Conduct a Long War." He was also the author of many addresses and more elaborate works. His latest and most important publication was "The Life and Times of John Dickinson," published when he was in his seventy-second year.

Amos Perry, LL.D., — from January, 1883, to his death Secretary of the Rhode Island Historical Society, — was elected a Corresponding Member in January, 1885, and died on the same

day as Dr. Stillé. He was born in South Natick, Massachusetts, August 12, 1812, and graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1837. After leaving college he went to Providence, Rhode Island, where he taught school for sixteen years, and where the greater part of his life was passed. For many years he was Consul-General at Tunis, and at a later period he was Superintendent of the Rhode Island State Census of 1885. He wrote much for the periodical press, and was a zealous worker in our sister Society. His most important publication was a large octavo volume printed in 1869, under the title of "Carthage and Tunis: Past and Present."

The Hon. JAMES M. BARKER, having been called on to speak of the late Chief Justice Field, with whom he had been long associated on the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court, said:—

Our late associate, apparently in the vigor of mature manhood, with form unbent, and in the full activity of useful service, was walking from the court-house on the afternoon of a winter day, when a touch, which then could not be recognized as fatal, put an unexpected and untimely end to his work. With hopeful courage he struggled to regain his strength, refusing to believe that his labor was done and his life drawing near its end. Some months of alternating gain and loss, and the end came in the early summer.

He was so large and strong a figure, so eminent in character, ability, and acquirements as well as in official station, that his death caused every intelligent citizen to pause, and to reflect gratefully upon his memory and share in the general sense of loss.

Were it not our usual custom when death calls a member from our ranks, we could not fail at this time to mention the death of Walbridge Abner Field, and to attempt some statement of our appreciation of his character and life.

He had been for many years one of the most eminent and conspicuous citizens of the State. A happy quality of the Commonwealth is that, while giving ample opportunity to her own sons, she knows how to draw to herself the manly, vigorous youth of her more northern neighbors, and has the wisdom so to do. In mind and heart Judge Field was large enough and strong enough to bear a true allegiance, not only to the State

of his birth, but to that wherein he received his college training as well as to that of his final adoption. No one can doubt that he was a broader man, more sound and strong, because born in Vermont, educated in New Hampshire, and from early manhood a citizen of Massachusetts.

The practical administration of justice calls for the learning of every science, for the widest knowledge of affairs, and the deepest and clearest insight into human nature. These come by observation acting through wide experiences, by close study of books, of things, and of men carefully made by a mind well disciplined and capable of deep and logical reflection and reasoning. Add to them the grace which comes from a familiar acquaintance with the best literature, and the cultivation resulting from attrition with bright minds in various walks of life, add also the technical knowledge of the law and of its history, noble impulses and ambitions, firmness and stability, and the power for assiduous, arduous work, and he who has these gifts and accomplishments has many of the qualities necessary in a great jurist.

As these qualities are mentioned, each of you recognizes that Judge Field had them in a high degree. His active mind, besides mastering the special learning of the law, ran through other departments of knowledge as a searching wind. His retentive memory and his power of assimilation placed at his command very much of all that he had seen or learned from books or men.

His opportunities, mostly self-made, had been large. Boyhood taught him all the life and thought of the old New England town, where every man and woman had a distinct character, worthy of study. Many of his qualities were intensified, and many of his habits of life and thought were the result of rural birth and breeding. Self-reliance, respect for the plain discharge of homely duty, interest in all things and all men outside of the narrow circle which at first bounds the vision of the country boy, love of nature and appreciation of her moods, the habits of observation and of thought, and the ambition to render great service rather than to seek amusement, notoriety, or riches, were fostered by the surroundings of his youth. Nothing gave him a keener interest than the study or discussion of primitive New England life and thought. In many fine ways he remained a typical Vermonter, bringing

with his presence the breezy atmosphere and the freshness of her hills and the unaffected natural brightness of her sunny moods.

After the Vermont school came the New Hampshire college, and one could well understand that he stood at the head of his class from his familiarity with Greek and Latin authors, and the ease with which he continued to use those tongues. Rarely would a day pass without some expression showing a ready command of knowledge outside of his profession. An experience as a teacher added to his facility of control, but left with him no prim and arbitrary habit of command and no tendency to make a display of authority. He was slow to assert the prerogatives of office, and no man was more free from arrogance or any shadow of pretence.

He early entered a firm in large practice at the bar, whose senior members, prominent alike in public and in professional life, tried as many important causes as any advocates of the day. Nor was his part in the business of the firm mere office work. He not infrequently tried jury cases, conducted difficult equity suits, and made many law arguments. Almost at the outset, a contest in the Federal Court with the then United States Attorney of the District, in which the younger lawyer won, procured for him from his adversary an offer, which he accepted, of the place of Assistant United States Attorney, and this opened to him the field of national affairs. Before he went upon the bench, he was further fitted and ripened in the same direction by more than one valuable experience in the national capital, sitting in the Cabinet as assistant attorney-general and in Congress as a member of the House, and gaining thus an acquaintance with officials from all parts of the Union, and with statesmen, as well as with modes of national action. He always took a lively and intelligent interest in politics; but his political career, although he was yet in Congress when appointed to the bench, was wisely kept subordinate to his chief work. At all times the lawyer, his ripening and his ripened powers were devoted to the law, as worthy of his constant study and as the means for him of greatest influence.

While his work at the bar constituted his most important training for the bench, and while it was supplemented by his experiences in public life and by his attention to scholarly

pursuits and to the extension of his acquaintances and friendships, there were other sides to his large nature.

The venerable clergyman who so feelingly spoke at his funeral, attested his faithfulness to that great factor in promoting the higher and better life of the individual and of the community, the church.

There are no more important and delicate subjects for judicial decision than those which grow out of the duties and relations springing from the family. These he could the better understand, and could deal with the more wisely, because of his own fine family life in a home where wife and children gave him daily greeting, inspiration, and service.

Then, too, he had the power and the habit of displaying such a real and kindly interest in other men, that, instead of seeing them "as trees walking," he found them fellow-men, and induced them to open up for his use whatever each had of good.

His interest in his college continued close and warm, and he was enthusiastically greeted at the meetings of her sons as well as at the gatherings in honor of his native State.

A little above medium height, he was so erect and had such a carriage and bearing as to make him seem perhaps of larger stature than he was. There were alertness and penetration in his look, his movements were light and easy, and there were grace and dignity, with directness, in his manner. With his outward appearance time dealt kindly, leaving his blond hair unblanched and showing him mature but retaining youthful vigor. He was temperate by habit in all things but work; and he bore bodily pain, not merely with fortitude, but so well that most who saw him knew not that he was suffering. If he concealed that almost constant incident of his later years, it was from no false pride; for with absolute frankness he would mention any slight infirmity of his own, the existence of which unperceived might possibly prejudice others.

In intellectual nature he was alert, watchful, quick, and forceful, somewhat imperious at times in dealing with an opposition which seemed to him factious or stupid and unworthy. But he had such real kindness of heart, such insight, and was himself so unpretending, simple, natural, and great, that he never failed to give to every man such respect

as was his due. Keen of wit and very ready in repartee, he was never sarcastic or cutting, but always considerate of the feelings as well as the rights of others. So simple, kindly, and unaffected was he, that children playing in his street would stop him in the way and get him to join their sport.

To the quick, clear, and full perception of a complicated matter he joined an equal readiness in bringing to it his own large knowledge. And yet the temper of his mind was not to come to hasty or sudden conclusions, but first to be sure that he had brought together and ranked in due order all pertinent considerations. So he listened well and with evident interest and pleasure, and never with the air of one who having made up his mind finds further talk irksome.

While confident, as he might be rightly, in his own views, he had not the least pride of opinion, and implicitly and graciously would adopt another's view when shown that it was well founded. No extent of research was so great, no intensity of thought so deep, as to make him shrink from the labor necessary to arrive at a sound conclusion.

He uniformly showed the same cheerful faithfulness in the discharge of duties comparatively trivial as in those most deeply affecting important interests.

Never burdened with riches or unduly given to any form of pleasure, he walked an even way confidently, calmly, and with self-respect.

Were not intense conservatism the usual outcome of wide experience combined with great ability, it might perhaps be said that he was almost too conservative. He held very strongly to the view that the existing order should not be changed lightly. All extravagance was distasteful to him, and he had an instinctive dislike of a heavy verdict or a large award. Frugality was a virtue which he practised both in official and in private life. He drove his single horse and unpretentious carriage, finding in this his out-of-doors diversion, and keeping informed of the physical changes of the city and its suburbs. His modest dwelling in a section from which fashion had withdrawn was as simple as his life. Yet there were no finer instances of unaffected, dignified hospitality than the entertainments in his plain basement dining-room, to which his friends of whatever club or coterie or station were glad to be bidden. All his qualities combined to make him,

upon those occasions when he properly could unbend and give free rein to wit and fancy, a most delightful host or companion.

This man, so born and trained, so ripened and developed, with such high powers and great acquirements, with such true simplicity and dignity, served as a Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts for eighteen years, nine of them as its Chief Justice. These eighteen years far more than cover the average span of a judicial life, and he was in fact in length of service the senior justice of the higher courts.

To note the breadth and worth and quality of his judicial work, to mark his place as magistrate and jurist, and to tell of the affection and esteem in which he was held by the bar, by his associates, and by all concerned in the practical administration of justice, is the peculiar province and privilege of another meeting, at which that one of your members who served longest with him on the bench and who has succeeded to his high office will speak the last word.

Upon this occasion it is enough to say that neither by his character, his work, nor his life has been made dim or cold the clear, life-giving light of justice.

This Society, honored by his membership, honors itself in giving testimony of his worth.

In response to the call of the President, Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES said : —

Mr. President, — It has been suggested by you that the life-work of our late member, Mr. William Whitwell Greenough, was largely devoted to the interests of the Boston Public Library, and as I had been associated with him in that work for many years, that it would be fitting for me to attempt to give here some estimate of the value of those labors.

Forty-one years ago (May, 1858), I was chosen by the Common Council of this city, from among their number, to represent that body upon the Board of Trustees of the Public Library, and Mr. George Dennie was elected as the representative of the Board of Aldermen. Edward Everett at that time was President of the Board of five Trustees of the library, chosen from the citizens at large, and his four co-trustees were George Ticknor, ex-Mayors Bigelow and Shurtleff,

and Mr. Greenough, who had been elected two years previously (1856) to succeed Mr. Thomas G. Appleton. Although he was much the youngest of this exceptionally able body, I soon learned that Mr. Greenough was one of its most important and laborious members, giving faithfully to its service the hours of nearly every afternoon. For thirty-two years (1856-1888), he continued to serve as Trustee, and for the last twenty-two of those years (1866-1888) he was President of the Board. During eight years (1880-1888) I was his colleague upon the Board, and for seven years subsequent to his resignation (1888-1895) I continued to be a member of it. During all this time I helped to carry on the traditions and to build upon the foundations laid by him, so that my opportunities for appreciating the worth of his services have been ample.

I think the people of Boston scarcely realize the debt of gratitude they owe to Mr. Greenough for his never-ceasing labors on behalf of the library, stretching over so long a period ; for to them, I believe, its signal growth and continued prosperity were largely due. His sagacity in the management of affairs of business upon an extensive scale was well appreciated by the various city governments, upon whose votes from year to year depended the considerable amounts of money required to carry on the library and to increase its scope. His skill in this direction, in the management of men, was notable, yet all was done in the quietest and most unobtrusive manner.

In the expenditure of such appropriations he displayed a wise conservatism and economy, joined to a far-seeing wisdom, which never neglected a favorable opportunity for increasing the treasures of the library. Its rounded growth upon the foundations so wisely laid by Ticknor and Jewett was largely owing to Mr. Greenough's daily drudgery in studying catalogues of dealers in books of all countries and ordering from them what was needed to fill up gaps. Although not a professed scholar in any special department of letters, Mr. Greenough was an omnivorous reader, and had acquired an extensive knowledge of books of all sorts. But he did not rely upon his own judgment solely, in building up what has grown to be one of the largest and most valuable of the great collections of books in existence. He was ever on the alert to secure the co-operation of specialists in all departments of

knowledge, who were urged to prepare lists of such works as were needed to complete and to increase the collections. From his many friends and acquaintances he was equally energetic in securing gifts or bequests of money for the endowed funds of the library, as well as donations of individual works from numerous givers in this country and abroad. Like Mr. Everett and Mr. Ticknor and the early founders of the library, he was a firm believer in the theory that the main function of a public library is to insure the gathering together of as extensive and valuable a collection of books as possible, for the present use of seekers after knowledge, and for the benefit of posterity ; and "his works shall praise him."

But Mr. Greenough was by no means neglectful of that other province of a public library, the bringing of the greatest variety possible of good reading into the hands of the masses of the people, thus carrying on the education begun in the public schools. With Carlyle, he thought that "the true University of these days is a collection of books." By branches and delivery stations and every possible means, limited only by the amount yearly available for library service, he strove to extend the usefulness of the institution to all classes of our fellow-citizens.

But the Boston Public Library is not only a vast collection of literature, it is a great business undertaking, employing in its service a numerous staff of workers, from men of learning and of much literary ability down to numerous boy and girl runners. In the management of this large force Mr. Greenough showed the same capacity displayed by him in his private business relations. He was uniformly just in his treatment of them, and he was always kind and considerate of their welfare. A striking testimony of their appreciation of his relations to them was afforded, when upon his resignation, in 1888, every officer and employee in the library, from the librarian, our associate Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, down, joined in conveying to him over their individual signatures an assurance of their grateful sense of the interest he had always manifested in their welfare, with the sincerest wishes for his happiness.

I will add a single word upon the relations of the President with his fellow-members of the Board of Trustees. These were always of the most courteous and friendly character.

Though positive in his opinions, he was never arbitrary ; and while his colleagues realized that a large share of the responsibility for the success of the institution must rest upon his shoulders, they were never made to feel that their judgment and opinions in regard to its management were slighted.

Mr. Greenough was born in Boston, June 25, 1818, the only child of William and Sarah (Gardner) Greenough ; and he died there June 17, 1899. After fitting for college at the Boston Public Latin School, he graduated at Harvard in the class of 1837. From his youth he was always a prominent and leading personage in public affairs. He served in the city government, and in 1849 was selected to deliver the Fourth of July oration before the citizens of Boston. It was a stirring and patriotic address, with the title of "The Conquering Republic." The greater part of his business life was spent in the successful management of the Boston Gas-Light Company, of which he was treasurer from 1853 to 1889.

Mr. Greenough was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1879. He communicated to our Proceedings a memoir of George Ticknor, and also an account of one of the portraits of Franklin by Greuze, now the property of the Boston Public Library. In presenting the annual report of the Council of the Society, in 1886, he made the valuable suggestion that a catalogue of the manuscripts belonging to our Library be prepared and printed, with a statement of the dates covered by each and its subject-matter. It is greatly to be desired that this recommendation be carried out so soon as the state of our finances may warrant it.

Mr. John Noble was appointed to write the memoir of Chief Justice Field, and Mr. Barrett Wendell the memoir of Mr. Greenough, for publication in the Proceedings.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated the following paper :

John Foster was the pioneer printer of Boston, where he set up a press in the early part of 1675, though only two of his titles dated that year have come down to the present time. It has been a matter of some little interest among book-collectors to know which of these two was issued first, as it would gratify a curiosity not altogether idle to be able to name the earliest Boston imprint. Like most of the publi-

cations of that period, both these pamphlets were sermons, preached by Increase Mather only a few weeks apart. While the presumption was strongly in favor of the one with the earlier date of delivery as the earlier title, such evidence is not always conclusive. Fortunately for our present purpose, there is in the Library of the Historical Society a manuscript Diary, kept by Mr. Mather during the years 1675 and 1676, which throws some light on the question. It begins with the new year ("1^m. 25^d. 1675") and goes to December 7 ("10^m. 7"), 1676, and contains allusions to both discourses.

The first of these pamphlets is entitled: —

The Wicked mans Portion. Or a Sermon (Preached at the Lecture in Boston in New-England the 18th day of the 1 Moneth 1674. when two men [Nicholas Feaver and Robert Driver] were executed, who had murdered their Master.) Wherein is shewed That excesse in wickedness doth bring untimely Death. By Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church of Christ. || Boston Printed by John Foster. 1675.

The other is entitled: —

The Times of men are in the hand of God. Or a Sermon occasioned by that awfull Providence which hapned in Boston in New-England, the 4th day of the 3^d Moneth 1675. (when part of a Vessel was blown up in the Harbour,¹ and nine men hurt, and three mortally wounded) wherein is shewed how we should sanctifie the dreadfull Name of God under such awfull Dispensations. By Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church of Christ. || Boston, Printed by John Foster 1675.

Both these tracts are now of great rarity. When Mr. Sibley wrote his sketch of Dr. Mather, he knew of only two copies of "The Wicked Man's Portion," but since then several others have come to light.

In the very first entry of the Diary, under date of March 25, 1675 ("1^m. 25^d. 1675"), Mr. Mather writes as follows: —

As to pticular. 1. yt ye Ld wld be wth me ys year also. owning me in my studyes. & in my ministry in Lds days e on Lecture days. 2. Blesse e give acceptance vnto w^t I am printing. 3. guide as to ye Printing of ye Sermon I prched ys day 7night. 4. give more of his Spirit to me. 5. Bless e gvide for me in my Family. Lord Jesus I comit these Requests into yi hands Humbly begging for acceptance for yi sake, & for thine onely. Amen O Lord Amen!

¹ For some particulars of this explosion, see Sewall's Diary (I. 10) and Hull's Diary in the "Archæologia Americana" (III. 240).

The sermon here referred to as preached "ys day 7night," was unquestionably "The Wicked Man's Portion," as that was delivered on March 18, 1674-5, the day mentioned in the Diary. The extract, furthermore, shows that the sermon was then in press. It seems also to prove that "The Wicked Man's Portion" was issued before the other pamphlet ("The Times of Men are in the hand of God") appeared. This discourse was delivered as one of the regular Thursday lectures, a series by Boston ministers, which began in the early days of the Colony, and was kept up weekly for nearly two centuries and a half.

It will be noticed that the date of the other sermon is not given, but it was occasioned by an event that happened on May 4, 1675, which day fell on a Tuesday. One might suppose that the sermon was preached on the following Sunday, but probably it was not, if we may draw a correct inference from certain entries in the Diary, which are as follows:—

[Sunday, May] 9 A. M. Neph. Sam. [Mather, son of Timothy] prhed. P. M. Ld assisted me in some measure in ye work wh He called me to. . . .

[May] 15 Finished e corrected serm on psal. 31. 15 &c^a.

[Sunday, May] 16 A. M. my Br. J. C. prhed. P. M. My Br. S. C. prhed.

Without doubt the initial letters in this entry refer to John Cotton and Seaborn Cotton, both sons of John Cotton, the well-known minister of the First Church, and brothers-in-law of Increase Mather.

[Sunday, May] 23 God enabled me to prch both pts of ye day, e also to administer ye Lds supp; & carried me comfortably through all. O wonderfull grace manifested to a vile sinner!

24 Wrote epte bef serm on ps. 31. 15 P. M. catechised children.

This last entry without question refers to the sermon now under consideration, as the text of that discourse is found in Psalms xxxi. 15, My Times are in thy Hand. The date of delivery was undoubtedly May 23, as on that day he preached both in the forenoon and afternoon, which, according to the Diary, he was not often able to do. The contraction "epte" stands for epistle, which was the Preface or Introduction to the printed sermon, where it appears under the heading, "To

the Reader" at the beginning of the pamphlet. In another part of the Diary, under date of May 22 ("3^m. 22"), 1676, he says: "wrote epte ad Hist." — alluding to his "Brief History of the Warr with the Indians in New-England," where it appears as a preface addressed "To the Reader."

It may not be a matter of much moment to the great world of busy men, which of these two pamphlets is the first-born of Foster's press, now extant; but the desire to know the bottom facts in regard to priority of publication, on the part of a mere handful of worm-eaten antiquaries and bibliographers, is as laudable a curiosity as that felt by two continents at this very moment in the result of the great international yacht race off Sandy Hook.

The PRESIDENT then read a paper as follows, on certain facts in connection with the detention of the Laird rams by the English government, in October, 1863: —

Not a few members of the Society now present will recall a noticeably interesting and suggestive paper read by our late associate Edward L. Pierce, at the March meeting of 1896, entitled "Recollections as a Source of History." Mr. Pierce naturally, as the biographer of Charles Sumner, drew his instances mainly from the literature of the Rebellion period, and towards the close of his paper remarked: "Of all reminiscences those concerning public men at Washington are the most untrustworthy. . . . Stories of public characters have somewhat the interest of fiction, and the mass of readers care little whether they are true or not. Managers of magazines are keen in their search for them; and the result is a medley of tales, with little of truth in them, and that little of truth so compounded with falsehood as to be worse than falsehood entire. They obtain a credence with even intelligent people who fancy that what is in type must be true. In ten, twenty, or thirty years they are thought worthy of recognition as a source of history. Now and then a valuable contribution . . . appears; but generally reminiscences of Washington life and affairs should be dismissed without consideration by historians."¹

¹ Proceedings, Second Series, vol. x. p. 483.

One of this "medley of tales," and a very dramatic and interesting specimen, I propose to consider to-day, and endeavor to extract for the benefit of the future historian what "little of truth" there may be in it. The story, as will be seen, was intimately connected with a very memorable episode in the life of my father, over whose papers I have been busy during the last two years; and on its face it would seem to be entitled to absolute credence, coming as it did from a man of great respectability, one who occupied long and with credit to himself a highly responsible government position, affording him access to the most secret sources of information. If this combination does not constitute a basis for "credence," it is difficult to say what would; and yet, in fact, the story merely supplies one more striking, almost conclusive, illustration of the truth of Mr. Pierce's conclusion that "reminiscences of Washington life and affairs should be dismissed without consideration by historians."

During the administration of Lincoln Mr. L. E. Chittenden was Register of the Treasury. Born in Vermont, in the year 1824, he was by profession a lawyer, though taking an active interest in politics. A member of the State Senate of Vermont between 1857 and 1859, in 1861 he was a delegate to the Peace Convention which met at Washington in February of that year. In April, 1861, he was appointed Register of the Treasury. Retiring from his position in 1865, he removed to New York, where he engaged in the practice of the law, giving at the same time considerable attention to literary pursuits and historical study. In 1890 he wrote out his recollections of what occurred, more or less within his own observation, during his connection with public affairs. The papers drawn, as he stated, from memoranda made by him at the time, first appeared in a series of articles in "Harper's Magazine," running through the year 1890; and in 1891 these articles, revised by the author, were published in a volume by the firm of Harper & Brothers, under the title of "Recollections of President Lincoln and his Administration." It is from this volume I quote the story referred to; and, for obvious reasons, it is quoted at length, only that which is immaterial being omitted:—

"Communication between the United States and Great Britain was much more irregular and required longer time in 1862 than in 1891.

Now, on regular sailing-days, twice every week, as many as ten large steamships leave New York for English ports on a single tide. Telegraphic communication between Washington and London is almost as frequent as between New York and Philadelphia, and it is not interrupted unless four cable-lines are simultaneously broken. Then there were fewer lines of steamships, and during the war the sailing-days of some of them were irregular; only one cable had been laid across the Atlantic, and that was not in working order. Special messengers carried all the important despatches between our country and Great Britain. . . .

"About eleven o'clock on a well-remembered Friday morning, in 1862, the Register of the Treasury was requested to go to the Executive Mansion immediately, without a moment's delay. He obeyed the summons, and found there Secretaries Chase and Seward, in anxious consultation with the President. They wished to know what was the shortest time within which \$10,000,000 in coupon 'five-twenties' could be prepared, signed, and issued. They were informed that the correct answer to that inquiry would depend upon the denominations already printed; that if a sufficient number of the largest denomination, of \$1000, were on hand, they might be issued within four or five days; if the denominations were smaller, longer time would be required; that the number printed could be ascertained by sending to the Register's office, for there was a report from the custodian of unissued bonds made every day. Both Mr. Chase and Mr. Seward said that so much time could not be given; that these bonds must be regularly issued, and placed on board a steamer which was to leave New York for Liverpool at twelve o'clock on the following Monday, if this could possibly be done; that the Register could command all the resources of the government, if necessary, but he must see that the bonds were on board the steamer at the hour named. There was one condition—the bonds must be regularly and lawfully issued, with nothing on their face to indicate that the issue was not made in the regular course of business.

"By the act of Congress which authorized the issue of these bonds it was declared that they should be signed by the Register. The construction given to the act in the department was that the Register must sign them in person, and that he could not delegate his authority. Any number of clerks could be employed in their preparation and entry, but the point of difficulty was whether the Register could sign them within the time. There were seventy hours between the time of the discussion and the hour when the securities must be on board the special train that would carry them to the steamer. . . .

"The immediate occasion of this sudden determination to issue these securities was a despatch just received by Mr. Seward, by special messenger, from Mr. Charles Francis Adams, our minister to the Court of

St. James. As already intimated, the cable was not in working order, and no suggestion of the facts had been made to the State Department previous to the arrival of the messenger. Its importance was obvious to the two secretaries, but will not be understood by the reader without an explanation covering a considerable period of time and events which are now for the first time made public.

"Mr. Adams had for several weeks been aware, and had communicated the fact to his government, that the Messrs. Laird, extensive ship-builders, were building at their yards in Birkenhead, near Liverpool, two armored vessels for the Confederate government. They were to be furnished with powerful engines, and capable of great speed. When completed, they were to proceed to a small, unfrequented British island in the West Indies, where they were to be delivered to the agents of the Confederacy. They were then to receive their armament, previously sent thither, take their crews on board, and then set forth on their piratical cruises, after the example of the 'Alabama.' After sweeping our remaining commerce from the seas, by burning and sinking every merchant-ship bearing our flag, they were to come upon our own coast, scatter our blockading fleet, and open all the Southern ports to British commerce, which would no longer be required to take the great risk of breaking the blockade. . . .

". . . In tonnage, armament, and speed they were intended to be superior to the 'Kearsarge' and every vessel of our navy. Their armor was supposed to render them invulnerable. If the blockade was not maintained, an immediate recognition of the belligerent character of the rebels by Great Britain was anticipated. Even if that did not take place, all the cotton gathered in Confederate ports would be released and find a profitable market; while the old wooden vessels, now principally constituting the blockading fleet, would not resist one of these iron-clad vessels long enough for a second broadside.

"The impending danger was fully appreciated by Mr. Adams. With his accustomed energy, notwithstanding the secrecy in which all the Confederate movements in Great Britain were shrouded, he had collected and laid before the English authorities clear proofs of the rebel ownership and intended unlawful purpose of these vessels. . . .

"But, unfortunately, the sympathies of the party in power in England were not with the Union cause. It suited the view of the law-officers of the crown not to interfere, and to excuse their inaction by raising objections to the legal sufficiency of the evidence. The situation was perfectly comprehended by the President and his Cabinet, but remonstrance appeared to be unavailing, and the departure of the vessels was expected at an early day.

". . . The crown lawyers finally decided that the demand of Mr. Adams must be complied with, and that an order must issue, prohibit-

ing the departure of these vessels from the Mersey, until the charges of the American minister had been judicially investigated.

“There were, however, some incidents attending this most important decision which prevented its communication from giving to Mr. Adams a satisfaction wholly unalloyed. The decision had been withheld until the vessels were on the very eve of departure. The order must be immediately served, and possession taken by the customs authorities, or the vessels would escape. The crown lawyers, properly enough, observed that the affidavits furnished by Mr. Adams were *ex parte* — the witnesses had not been cross-examined. If Mr. Adams should fail to prove his charges by evidence which would satisfy the judicial mind, and the vessels be released, the damages caused by arresting them might be very heavy. It was a settled rule of procedure in the courts in such cases to secure the payment of such damages beyond any peradventure. The restraining order would, therefore, be issued, but it would not be enforced against the vessels until these damages had been secured by a deposit of £1,000,000 *sterling in gold coin*.

“The situation was well known to be critical. Within three days the vessels were to sail for their destination; if necessary, they might sail forthwith. The cable was useless — broken or disabled — and Mr. Adams could not communicate with his own government. Without such communication he had not authority to bind his government as an indemnitor, or to repay the money if he could borrow it. Even if he had the fullest authority, where was the patriotic Briton who would furnish a million pounds on the spur of the moment to a government which was believed by the party in power in Great Britain to be *in articulo mortis*? Unless, therefore, the crown lawyers supposed our minister to have anticipated their decision by providing himself with this money, they must have known that this condition could not be complied with, and that they might just as well have declined to interfere. If they had intended that these ships should not be prevented from making their intended crusade against our commerce and our cause, no better arrangement could possibly have been devised. It is not to be denied that suspicions existed that such was their purpose.

“But the unexpected sometimes happens. The event which prevented these floating engines of destruction from entering upon their intended work was as unanticipated as a miracle. It constituted, possibly, the most signal service ever rendered by a citizen of one country to the government of another. It was all the more noble because it was intended to be anonymous. The eminently unselfish man who performed it made a positive condition that it should not be made public; that not so much as his name should be disclosed, except to the officers of our government, whose co-operation was required, in order to transact the business in a proper manner and upon correct principles.

So earnest was his injunction of secrecy that his identity will not even now be disclosed, although he has long since gone to his reward.

"Within the hour after the crown lawyers' decision, with its conditions, had been made known to Mr. Adams, and when he had given up all hope of arresting these vessels, a quiet gentleman called upon him and asked if he might be favored with the opportunity of making the deposit of coin required by the order? He observed 'that it had occurred to him that, if the United States had that amount to its credit in London, some question of authority might arise, or Mr. Adams might otherwise be embarrassed in complying with the condition, especially as communication with his government might involve delay; so that the shortest way to avoid all difficulty would be for him to deposit the coin, which he was quite prepared to do.'

"Had a messenger descended from the skies in a chariot of fire, with \$5,000,000 in gold in his hands, and offered to leave it at the embassy without any security, Mr. Adams could not have been more profoundly surprised. He had accepted the condition as fatal to his efforts; he had concluded that nothing short of a miracle could prevent the departure of the vessels; and here, if not a miracle, was something much like one. He made no secret of the pleasure with which he accepted the munificent offer, provided some method of securing the liberal Englishman could be found. The latter seemed indisposed to make any suggestions on the subject. 'It might be proper,' he said, 'that some obligation should be entered into, showing that the American government recognized the deposit as made on its account; beyond that he should leave the matter wholly in the hands of Mr. Adams.'

"The existing premium on gold was then about sixty per cent in the United States. It would have been largely increased by the departure of these iron-clads. The 'five-twenties' or 'sixes' of 1861, as they were popularly called, were then being issued, and were the only securities upon 'long time' then authorized by Congress. The best arrangement that occurred to Mr. Adams, and which he then proposed, was that \$10,000,000, or £2,000,000, in these bonds, to be held as collateral security for the loan of £1,000,000 in gold, should be delivered to the lender, to be returned when the loan was paid, or the order itself was discharged and the coin returned to the depositor. The proposition of Mr. Adams was satisfactory to the gentleman, but he said that to prevent the disclosure of his name the deposit should be made in coupon and not in registered bonds. The coupons were payable to bearer; the registered were required to be inscribed on the books of the Treasury in the owner's name. Mr. Adams then volunteered the assurance that these bonds, to the amount of \$10,000,000, should be transmitted to London by the first steamer which left New York after

his despatch concerning the transaction was received in the State Department at Washington.

"It was this assurance of Mr. Adams which the President and both of the secretaries desired should be made good. They regarded the faith of the government as pledged for its performance, and that faith they proposed should not be violated.

"All the details of this transaction were not then disclosed. They reached the government in private, confidential despatches from Mr. Adams, some of them long afterwards. The despatch in question was understood to be confidential; certainly that part of it which related to the deposit and security proposed. It was necessarily brief, for in order to reach the steamer the special messenger had to leave London within a very few hours after the proposition of the deposit was made. There was enough in it to show that an inestimable service had been rendered to the country by some one to whom Mr. Adams had pledged the faith of the nation for the transmission of these bonds by the next steamer which left New York. There was no dissent from the conclusion that the pledge of Mr. Adams, if it were in the power of the government, must be performed.

"The transmission of the securities of the United States to London, in large amounts, would be a very different problem now, after the subsequent experience of the Treasury in such transactions. Now the blank bonds would be taken on board an ocean steamer in the custody of officers authorized to prepare, sign, and issue them, and the entire labor could be performed on the voyage. In 1862 the Treasury had had no such experience, and in the brief time spared for consultation there was no way of meeting the emergency suggested, except the regular process of filling up, signing, and sealing the bonds within the Treasury, entering them upon the proper books, and delivering them as perfected obligations of the United States. . . .

"It was next ascertained that only \$7,500,000 in coupon bonds of the denomination of \$1000 had been printed. The remaining \$2,500,000 must be made up from denominations of \$500. This involved an increase of two thousand five hundred, making an aggregate of twelve thousand five hundred bonds to be signed between twelve o'clock on Friday and four o'clock A. M., on Monday. . . .

"In the present instance the Register knew from experience that serious work was before him, which would affect his health, and might endanger his life. He endeavored to set about it with judgment and discretion. He called in an experienced army surgeon, informed him that he intended to continue to sign his name for just as many consecutive hours as his strength would permit; that he was desired to remain in constant attendance, administering such food and stimulants as would secure endurance for the longest possible time. The neces-

sary supplies were procured, the arrangements perfected, and the Register was ready to begin his work at twelve o'clock on Friday. . . .

"It is unnecessary to describe all the details of the devices and means resorted to to prevent sleep and to continue the work. Changes of position, violent exercise, going out into the open air and walking rapidly for ten minutes, concentrated extracts, prepared food, stimulants more in kind and number than can now be recalled — every imaginable means was employed during the night of Saturday. . . .

"I have not had at any time since a very accurate memory of the events of that Sunday morning. That I could not remain in the same position for more than a few moments, that the bonds were carried from desk to table and from place to place to enable me to make ten signatures at a time, that my fingers and hand were twisted and drawn out of their natural shape — these and other facts are faintly remembered. The memory is more distinct that at about twelve o'clock, noon, the last bond was reached and signed, and the work was finished, the last hundred bonds requiring more time than the first thousand. One fact I have special cause to remember. This abuse of muscular energy eventually caused my resignation from the Treasury, and cost me several years of physical pain. . . .

"The bonds reached the steamer in time, and the promise of our minister was faithfully kept. But in the mean time Mr. Adams had given notice to the authorities of his readiness to make the deposit, and then some disposition of the matter was made, which avoided the necessity of making it. What this disposition was, I do not know; but it was understood at the time, by Secretary Chase, to have been made without the knowledge or privity of our minister. From the published statements at the time it appeared that no effort to deliver the vessels was made after the objections of the government were made known. In fact the iron-clads were shortly after sold to one of the Eastern powers, and their field of operations was the Mediterranean instead of the American coasts. The ability of Mr. Adams to comply with the condition and furnish the security was accepted as the end of the controversy. It is known that a few months later \$6,000,000 of the \$10,000,000 of the bonds issued were returned to the Treasury in the original packages, with the seals of the Treasury unbroken. The remaining \$4,000,000 were afterward sold for the benefit of the Treasury. . . .

"Since the publication of the foregoing facts in 'Harper's Magazine' for May, 1890, I have been solicited by many correspondents to give the name of the gentleman who offered to perform such a signal service to our country. It must be obvious that nothing could give me greater pleasure than to publish his name, and to secure for him the enduring gratitude of the American people. I have, however, a special reason

for my present determination not to disclose it, nor to permit myself to speculate upon the consequences of the disclosure. When we were informed that the emergency had passed, it became necessary to make a change in the entries of this large amount upon the books of the Register. This was found to be a difficult matter, unless a plain statement of the issue, to the gentleman in question, and its purpose, was made with its subsequent cancellation. This course I proposed to Secretary Chase. He was decided in his opinion that the value of the service would not have been enhanced if an actual deposit of the money had been required, and that, as the gentleman himself had imposed the obligation, he was the only authority who could possibly release it. While I regarded his conclusion as incontrovertible, I did suggest that our first duty was the official one, to our own obligation to conceal nothing, and to make our official records strictly conform to the fact.

“‘We should have thought of that at the time,’ said the secretary. ‘We might have declined his offer, coupled as it was with the obligation to conceal his name. But I do not remember that we considered that question. Do you?’

“‘No,’ I said. ‘Nothing was discussed in my presence except the possibility of compliance with his conditions, to the letter.’

“‘Then, I think, we must continue to keep his secret, whatever the consequences may be, until he releases us from the obligation,’ was the final conclusion of the secretary.

“I am, I believe, the only survivor of those to whom this gentleman’s name was known. I have hitherto declined to discuss the question of his name or its disclosure. I depart from my practice far enough to say that I do not believe he was interested in the price of cotton, or that he was moved in the slightest degree by pecuniary motives, in making his offer. More than this, at present, I do not think I have the moral right to say. If I should at any time hereafter see my way clear to a different conclusion, I shall leave his name to be communicated to the Secretary of the Treasury, who will determine for himself the propriety of its disclosure.”

Such was the story of the stoppage of the famous Birkenhead rams of 1863,—its secret history as told by Mr. Lincoln’s Register of the Treasury, personally cognizant of the facts whereof he spoke, knowing even the name of the mysterious stranger with the heavy bank account, who in this case proved indeed a *Deus ex machina*. Doubtless Mr. Chittenden when he wrote this story fully believed all he said. He, too, like the credible gentleman mentioned by Mr. Pierce, had told the tale so often that he had himself grown to a faith in every

word of it. Repetition took the place of memory. But, after the "foregoing facts" first appeared, it was, naturally enough, not only Mr. Chittenden who was "solicited by many correspondents" in regard to "the name of the mysterious gentleman" and other facts connected with this most interesting disclosure, but the members of Mr. Adams's family, he having died two years before, became the recipients of similar letters of inquiry. One of them, Mr. Henry Adams, had been, at the time in question, his father's private secretary, and, as such, cognizant of everything that occurred. He professed absolute ignorance of any transaction of the kind, or any even bearing a remote resemblance to it. He pronounced the whole statement a pure figment of Mr. Chittenden's imagination. In this he was confirmed by Colonel Hay, Mr. Lincoln's biographer, who in the course of his investigations nowhere could find any trace of the incidents described. None existed certainly in the records of the State Department, nor among the Seward papers. Finally, an examination of Mr. Adams's careful private diary brought no corroborative evidence to light. Not even an allusion was there found which by any possibility corroborated what could not have been other than the most startling as well as memorable event of a lifetime. Thus the enigma was dismissed as insoluble. It apparently only remained for Mr. Pierce's "ten, twenty, or thirty years" to pass away until the historian of the future should deem the story "worthy of recognition."

Eight of the first ten years actually have passed away, and the small residuum of historic fact at the basis of Mr. Chittenden's "yarn" — for it is entitled to no better name — has at last been revealed. On the 12th of October a year ago (1898) John M. Forbes, of Milton, closed a long, active, and noticeably useful life. Immediately after his death there appeared in the papers an obituary notice of him, manifestly prepared by some exceptionally well-informed writer, in the course of which reference was made to a mysterious mission of Mr. Forbes and Mr. William H. Aspinwall to Europe in 1863. It was clearly an unwritten Rebellion episode. It appeared that the two gentlemen, hastily summoned to a conference in New York by Messrs. Chase and Welles, then respectively secretaries of the Treasury and the Navy, had been hurried off to England to prevent, if possible, the fitting out and sailing in

and from British ports of Confederate cruisers, and more especially of the two iron-clads then well known to be in an advanced stage of construction at the yards of the Laird Brothers, at Birkenhead. More effectually to secure this result, the two gentlemen were, it was stated, further authorized to purchase, if need be, any vessels in course of preparation, and for that purpose took out with them "some millions of the new 5-20 bonds." The writer of the notice added that, though Mr. Forbes failed to accomplish what he was sent out to do, "our minister, the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, did all he could to second their efforts." Here was an historical clue; a sudden sending to Europe of a large amount of 5-20 bonds in connection with the Laird iron-clads. This clue the "Letters and Recollections of John Murray Forbes," published recently by his daughter, Mrs. Hughes, have enabled me to follow up. There can be no possible doubt that in the Forbes-Aspinwall mission of 1863 is to be found the residuum of truth at the bottom of the Chittenden legend.

From the letters and memoranda in Mrs. Hughes's volumes it appears that, on the 14th of March, 1863, Mr. Forbes, being then unwell at his house in Milton, received a brief telegram from Secretary Chase, requesting him to meet the sender the next morning in New York at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. Mr. Forbes complied, and there found both Mr. Chase and Mr. Welles. Mr. Aspinwall also was present. The secretaries wished Mr. Forbes to go forthwith to England, while Mr. Aspinwall was to follow immediately after, bringing with him \$10,000,000 of 5-20 government bonds, just being prepared for issue, so soon as this amount of them could be countersigned. The two gentlemen were, if possible, to stop the Confederate cruisers by their purchase or otherwise. The meeting took place apparently on Sunday, and on Monday Mr. Forbes submitted a hastily drawn up letter of instructions, which Secretary Welles signed. The purchase of any vessels then being fitted out was the essential object in view. A formal open letter, in the nature of credentials, was also prepared and signed by Mr. Welles, enclosing another to Messrs. Baring Brothers, then the financial agents of the government in London, advising them that Messrs. Aspinwall and Forbes were authorized to arrange for a loan of a million sterling, on the security of \$10,000,000 of 5-20 bonds in their hands.

This was on Monday, the 16th, and Mr. Forbes sailed on the steamer of Wednesday. Mr. Aspinwall, bringing with him the \$10,000,000 of bonds, must have followed him a week later, on the 25th, for he was in London and called on Mr. Adams on Tuesday, the 7th of April. As Mr. Chittenden is particular in remembering that it was on a "well-remembered Friday morning" that he was summoned to the Executive Mansion in the matter of these bonds, the morning in question must have been that of Friday, March 20th; but March, 1863, and not, as he asserts in his recollections, 1862. He is a year out in his time; nor is there any possible question on this point, inasmuch as work had not been fairly begun on the Laird rams until the middle of July, 1862, and, under the contract for their construction, they were not to be ready for sea until March and May, 1863.¹ Mr. Chittenden says that, when he received his directions in regard to signing the ten millions of bonds, a messenger from Mr. Adams had brought the startling intelligence that "within three days the vessels were to sail." That Mr. Adams never sent such a messenger is immaterial; the essential fact is that the statement fixes the year of the whole transaction as 1863, and not 1862, inasmuch as, owing to delays from various causes, the Laird iron-clads were not launched until July and August, 1863, nor were they ready for sea until early in the following October. As also only one lot of bonds of this magnitude was thus hurriedly signed and mysteriously transmitted to Europe, Mrs. Hughes's book fixes the time of their preparation as the week ending Tuesday, March 24th, 1863, the Laird iron-clads being then still on the ways.

Messrs. Forbes and Aspinwall reached England during the gloomiest period of the Rebellion, — that darkest hour before dawn immediately preceding the operations which resulted in the fall of Vicksburg and the defeat of Lee at Gettysburg. In Europe, so far as the United States was concerned, the situation was at that time in the last degree critical. The "Alabama" was in the midst of her career of piratical depredation; the Confederate Cotton loan had been successfully negotiated; the blockade-runner "Peterhoff" had just been captured under circumstances which deeply concerned the English ship-

¹ Bulloch, *Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe*, vol. i. pp. 386-388.

ping interests; the "Alexandra" was about to be seized, and made by the government a test case for the construction of the Foreign Enlistment Act; the Confederate iron-clads at Birkenhead were being rapidly pushed to completion. Mr. Adams, while preserving a firm outward front, now privately recorded his fear that "the peace will scarcely last six months"; while Mr. John Bigelow, coming over from Paris, expressed to him the opinion that war was "inevitable." The mission of Messrs. Forbes and Aspinwall was important, and the resources at their disposal large; but any indiscretion on their part might involve most serious consequences. They were there on behalf of the government to buy vessels not only to prevent their use by the rebels, but in certain cases for the use of the United States in the hostilities then going on,¹ while Mr. Adams, the officially accredited representative of their country, was vehemently denying the legality of the construction or sale of such vessels for or to either belligerent. While thus endeavoring, under the exigencies of the situation, both to "run with the hare and hunt with the hounds," the government not unnaturally instructed its emissaries to "endeavor to avoid establishing a precedent that may embarrass our minister when urging the British government to stop the sailing of vessels belonging to the rebels."²

A sufficient account of this futile mission is given in Mrs. Hughes's volumes. A more judicious selection of agents could not have been made; and Messrs. Forbes and Aspinwall, while they did all that circumstances permitted, acted throughout with the utmost circumspection. This is made curiously, and sometimes amusingly, apparent through Mr. Adams's diary references to them and what they did. With Mr. Forbes he was, of course, well acquainted. Close neighbors at home, for they lived in adjoining towns, they had not only known each other long, but recently they had been in more or less active correspondence as representative and constituent during the troubled period which preceded the outbreak of the Rebellion. Mr. Forbes says in his notes that, immediately on reaching London, after seeing the Messrs. Baring, he called on Mr. Adams, who he adds "wanted to know only what was absolutely necessary of our mission, so

¹ Forbes, *Letters and Recollections*, vol. ii. pp. 6, 26.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 6.

that he might not be mixed up with our operations, which we knew might not be exactly what a diplomat would care to endorse." This was on the 31st of March; and that day Mr. Adams wrote "who should come in but Mr. John M. Forbes? He gave me some intimation of his errand, which is to investigate the practicability of obtaining contingents of troops from any quarter in Germany. I thought not; the only course was to engage the men. I did not doubt they might be had in abundance." Thus the resurrected memory of the revolutionary Hessians seems to have been evoked by Mr. Forbes as a means of averting suspicion. During the next few days Mr. Forbes dined with Mr. Adams, and saw him frequently; and, on the 7th of April, Mr. Aspinwall also called. Owing to the capture of the "Peterhoff," the seizure of the "Alexandra" and the destruction of the "Georgiana," one of the minor rebel cruisers, "the city" was now in a condition of ferment, both active and noisy. Movements initiated by Mr. Adams to stop vessels in process of preparation at numerous points had, as he wrote, roused "the whole hive of sympathizers, as it was never stirred before."

Immediately on the arrival of Mr. Aspinwall, the \$10,000,000 of bonds he brought with him in several small separate trunks were safely deposited in the vaults of Baring Brothers, and, on the security of a portion (\$4,000,000) of them, £500,000 was passed, as a loan, to the credit of Mr. Forbes. With that amount he began operations. Though he, of course, had no knowledge on that point, a million dollars out of the proceeds of the Cotton loan had been put at the control of the Confederate agents for the construction of the two Laird iron-clads, the contract price for which was £93,750 each, apart from all armament and munitions.¹ The purse of the United States emissaries was thus materially longer than that of the Confederate agents; but the money was not at the disposal of Mr. Adams, nor did it come from the pocket of Mr. Chittenden's "quiet gentleman," nor was it, either in whole or in any part, used for the purposes Mr. Chittenden states.

Three days after the arrival of Mr. Aspinwall, on the evening of Thursday, April 9th, Mr. Forbes very sociably dropped in to see Mr. Adams, with a view doubtless to an incidental talk on the business in hand, the stoppage of the various vessels in

¹ Bulloch, *Secret Service*, vol. i. pp. 385, 386.

regard to which he had by this time informed himself. To those who knew Mr. Forbes, and understood his shrewd methods of working through indirections, Mr. Adams's comment on what took place is suggestive. "I explained to him," he wrote, "all that I had done ; but he seemed to think private action might effect more. Here is an instance of the opposite nature of British and American training. The former always thinking of nothing but government action ; the latter always underrating it." On the 17th Mr. Forbes again called ; this time to report about the vessels over which he and Mr. Aspinwall were now exercising joint supervision, public and private, and, Mr. Adams innocently wrote, "he made much of doing nothing to embarrass me." The next entry was more amusing still. The drift of the mission was beginning to show itself, and there was almost a groan of despair perceptible through what the minister now wrote. Mr. Robert J. Walker, formerly Secretary of the Treasury in the Polk administration, had now put in an appearance in the capacity of special agent of the Treasury. He was sent out by Secretary Chase to acquaint European capitalists with the actual circumstances and resources of the country ; and, if possible, to negotiate the sale of some government securities. Messrs. Forbes and Aspinwall did not deem it expedient to admit Mr. Walker into their confidence ; while Mr. Adams wrote : "He, as well as Messrs. Aspinwall and Forbes, are sent out from the Treasury to carry on operations of their own with which I have nothing to do. Of course, they will more or less undertake to advise me, which I shall try to take in the best part. I feel sensibly that this mission is growing more and more difficult." Certainly a less conventionally diplomatic situation could hardly be conceived. The United States, in the midst of the most serious complications, was represented in London by at least three different agencies, drawing their instructions from separate sources, and each operating in secrecy so far as the others were concerned. That, under such an ingeniously bad system, a catastrophe did not result, speaks volumes for the discretion of those concerned.

On the 23d of April Mr. Forbes breakfasted with Mr. Adams, showing him "a general review of all the ship-yards of the island, and a description of every suspicious vessel. The activity of these rogues," Mr. Adams wrote, "is greater

than ever. I do not know that any anxiety I have is heavier than this." Then, on the 28th, Messrs. Forbes and Aspinwall, feeling evidently that now they must face the real purpose of their errand, or they might compromise the minister, came to discuss the expediency of buying the ships then being built for the Confederacy. "I think," wrote Mr. Adams, "this is merely playing the game of the Englishmen. The competition for arms at the outset of the war raised their price more than double, and so it would be with steamers." A somewhat obvious conclusion, which the two commissioners had already reached and some days before communicated to Secretary Welles.¹

Throughout the month of May Messrs. Forbes and Aspinwall remained in England, gradually reaching the conclusion that they could accomplish nothing. Meanwhile Mr. William M. Evarts had been added to the contingent of special government emissaries, he being sent out to supervise the legal proceedings in the case of the "Alexandra." "It cannot be denied," wrote Mr. Adams, "that ever since I have been here the almost constant interference of government agents of all kinds has had the effect, however intended, of weakening the position of the minister. Most of all has it happened in the case of Mr. Evarts, whom the newspapers here have all insisted to have been sent here to superintend my office in all questions of international law. I doubt whether any minister has ever had so much of this kind of thing to contend with."

It is instructive to know that it was not Mr. Adams alone who was at this time thus encumbered with aid. The Confederate emissaries seem to have had similar cause of complaint; and in September, 1862, nine months before Mr. Adams made the foregoing entry in his diary, Captain Bulloch had written on this head as follows to the Confederate Secretary of the Navy: "I do not hesitate to say that embarrassment has already been occasioned by the number of persons from the South who represent themselves to be agents of the Confederate States Government. There are men so constituted as not to be able to conceal their connection with any affairs which may by chance add to their importance, and such persons are soon found out and drawn into confessions and

¹ Forbes, *Letters and Recollections*, vol. ii. p. 40.

statements by gossiping acquaintances, to the serious detriment of the service upon which they are engaged.”¹

During the early years of Mr. Adams's mission, indeed until the autumn of 1863, when the Government detained the Birkenhead iron-clads, Great Britain was, for reasons which at once suggest themselves, the special field of diplomatic activity, and the minister at London was at last driven to active remonstrance. These emissaries were of four distinct types: (1) the roving diplomat, irregularly accredited by the State Department; (2) the poaching diplomat, accredited to one government, but seeking a wider field of activity elsewhere; (3) the volunteer diplomat, not accredited at all, but in his own belief divinely commissioned at that particular juncture to enlighten foreign nations generally, and Great Britain in particular; and (4) the special agent, sent out by some department of the government to accomplish, if possible, a particular object. Messrs. Forbes and Aspinwall, as also Mr. Evarts, were of the last description; and they were men of energy, tact, and discretion. Accordingly they had the good sense to confine themselves to the work they were there to do, and did not indulge in a pernicious, general activity. Not so some others, especially those of the poaching and roving varieties. With his rare tact, shrewd judgment, and quick insight into men, Thurlow Weed, a roving diplomat, made himself of great use both in Great Britain and on the Continent, and relations of a most friendly character grew up between him and Mr. Adams. Of others, roving, poaching, or volunteer, Mr. Adams, as is evident from his diary records, had grave and just cause of complaint; they were officious, they meddled, and they were to the last degree indiscreet. They were peculiarly addicted to the columns of the “Times,” in which their effusions appeared periodically: but not always did they confine themselves to ill-considered letter-writing or mere idle talk.

Perhaps the most unfortunate of the volunteer, as distinguished from the roving, poaching, and special diplomats of that period, was Mr. Moncure D. Conway, since well known in connection with the life and writings of “Tom” Paine. In 1863 Mr. Conway made his appearance in England, whither he had gone “to enlighten the British public in regard to the

¹ Bulloch, Secret Service, vol. i. p. 390.

causes of the war." He at once invited a correspondence with Mr. Mason, the outcome of which was bewildering rather than either happy or significant. It is now an altogether forgotten incident, and at the moment was not material. It had, however, a certain interest as illustrating the dangers inseparable from volunteer diplomacy in troublous times, and it led to some highly suggestive comments on the part of Mr. Adams, to be found in a despatch (No. 437) from that gentleman to Secretary Seward, under date of June 25, 1863.¹ Any one curious to read the Conway-Mason correspondence, in connection with the history of that period, can find it in full in the columns of the London "Times" of June 18, 1863.

Returning to the mission of Messrs. Forbes and Aspinwall, and the rare discretion with which they did the very delicate work intrusted to them, it is sufficient to say that while, at the time, little or no real embarrassment arose for Mr. Adams out of their proceedings, nearly forty years were to elapse before the public was really advised as to what was attempted through them. Meanwhile during the early months of 1863 the scrutiny exercised both at home and in Great Britain, be it through government officials, Union detectives, or Confederate sympathizers, was altogether too close to enable men as active and prominent as Messrs. Forbes and Aspinwall to escape suspicion. The Confederate newspaper correspondents in New York almost at once got scent of their mission and set to work to make trouble. One of them, signing himself "Manchester," spoke of the two as "delegates" about "to be followed by eight other men of note," one being Mr. W. M. Evarts, all of whom would "regulate our affairs abroad, and Mr. Adams is ordered to be their mouthpiece." This correspondent then proceeded as follows: "[Mr. Evarts] is a particular friend of W. H. Seward. The latter, it is well known, has lost all confidence in Mr. Adams, who, but for his name, would have been recalled long ago. Mr. Seward expresses himself on all occasions, early and late, that the real source of bad feeling in England towards the North has been caused by the extraordinary stupidity of Mr. Adams, our minister, and the really clever ability of all the rebel agents." This utterance seems to have caused Secretary Seward some

¹ Diplomatic Correspondence, 1863, Part I. p. 318; also Seward to Adams, No. 654, *Ibid.* p. 358.

annoyance, as the Treasury was in its turn now poaching on the domain of the State Department. Moreover, it did not require much time to satisfy Messrs. Forbes and Aspinwall that the Confederate agents were sufficiently in funds to "render it impossible to approach the Messrs. Laird with an offer for the rams"; and, accordingly, they were forced to limit themselves to watching the effects of the legal proceedings initiated by Mr. Adams, in the hope that an opportunity would offer for "some negotiator to step in." In the interim, obviously to avert suspicion, it was thought expedient for Mr. Forbes to visit Germany, the land of Hessian mercenaries, while Mr. Aspinwall betook himself to France. They remained away until well into June; and, on their return to London, satisfied of their inability to do anything towards stopping work on the Birkenhead iron-clads, the first of which was then nearly ready to be launched, they decided to return to America. This action on their part was accelerated by the news from home; for the crisis of the struggle was plainly at hand. It came, indeed, while they were on the ocean. For a man of Mr. Forbes's intense activity a longer absence at such a time was well-nigh impossible. Indeed when, five weeks before, the details of the disaster at Chancellorsville reached London, he had been so much depressed by the news that, as he at the time told Mr. Adams, he had been strongly inclined to abandon his mission and start back to America that very day.¹

To return to the \$10,000,000 of 5-20 bonds brought out by Mr. Aspinwall, and placed in the keeping of Baring Brothers. As already stated, \$4,000,000 had been pledged to that firm as security for the loan of £500,000. The remaining \$6,000,000 were now withdrawn, and taken back to America. The two commissioners landed in New York on the 12th of July, just before the breaking out of the draft riots of 1863. Mr. Forbes, though not until twenty-one years later, wrote down his own recollections of how he handled on the wharf his "pile of trunks, which included three containing six millions of 5-20 bonds"; and these, doubtless, were the bonds which Mr. Chittenden refers to as being a few days later "returned to the Treasury in the original packages, with the seals of the Treasury unbroken."²

¹ Diary, 23d May.

² Recollections, p. 209.

Such is the residuum of authentic history at the bottom of this portion of Mr. Chittenden's recollections. Where his story was not a pure figment of the imagination, his memory deceived him at almost every point. The amount involved, and the number of bonds returned to the Treasury, together, probably, with the physical exertion he underwent in signing them, were alone accurately stated. It only remains to suggest some plausible theory through which to explain a deception so singular; for, undoubtedly, Mr. Chittenden believed what he wrote. That explanation probably is not far to seek. The heads of department undeniably concerned in the mission were Secretaries Welles and Chase. Mr. Chittenden also asserts that the President and Secretary Seward were "in anxious consultation" over it. This may or may not be so; but, undoubtedly, they were cognizant of it. In any event, the utmost secrecy was necessary to the success of the scheme, and it was highly desirable that as few persons as possible should be in any way informed as to it. The whole proceeding, it must be admitted, was irregular, and most suggestive as to the way in which government financial operations were then conducted. Ten millions of dollars is no inconsiderable sum. Five or six trunks full of government bonds are worth looking after. In this case ten millions of bonds were put in the hands of two private gentlemen to take out of the country, and dispose of pretty much as they saw fit; and the five or six trunks full of securities were withdrawn from the vaults by order of the Secretary, and, so far as appears, not a receipt even filed to indicate what had become of them. The proceeding was wrapt in impenetrable mystery. Messrs. Forbes and Aspinwall were not officers of the government, or responsible to any one. Ten million dollars were simply put at their service, and the two Secretaries alone had cognizance of the transaction, knew where the securities were, what it was proposed to do with their proceeds, or who could account for them. In the recently published volume of our associate Mr. Rhodes will be found some remarks to which this proceeding would have afforded a very apposite reference. To the heads of department during the Rebellion period, "millions of money were as star distances to ordinary men, whether two or three hundred billions of miles, what difference?"¹

¹ J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, vol. iv. p. 208, n.

Meanwhile, large and irregular as the Treasury operations then unquestionably were, the taking of ten millions of bonds from the Treasury and sending them in one body to Europe, where it was notorious no demand for the bonds then existed, could not but excite comment, and be made matter of gossip among the officials necessarily concerned. The Register of the Treasury, suddenly called upon to authenticate this large issue by his own signature to each particular bond, might naturally be prompted to ask some explanation of a proceeding at once so large, so hasty, and so shrouded in mystery. The inference would be reasonable that the explanation given by Mr. Chittenden was in a general way concocted and agreed upon between the two Secretaries, Chase and Welles, to be ready for use in case of emergency; and they tried it on the Register. He accepted it in perfect good faith, and religiously preserved it for years as a state secret. Then, at last, through a magazine of large circulation, he took the public into his confidence. Meanwhile he intimates that, at the time when he reduced his "Recollections" to paper, he was actually in possession of the name of the mysterious and very mythical "quiet gentleman" who "offered to perform such a signal service to our country." This is not at all impossible. He may have obtained it from Secretary Chase; and not impossibly a suppressed gleam of humor lurked in the Secretary's eye, as, with a face otherwise wholly imperturbable, he invented a name very proper to complete the mystification of the Register. The mystery is, however, now cleared up, and a small residuum of historical truth exposed for the use of the future investigator.

The PRESIDENT also communicated the memoir of his father, which he had been appointed to prepare for the Proceedings.

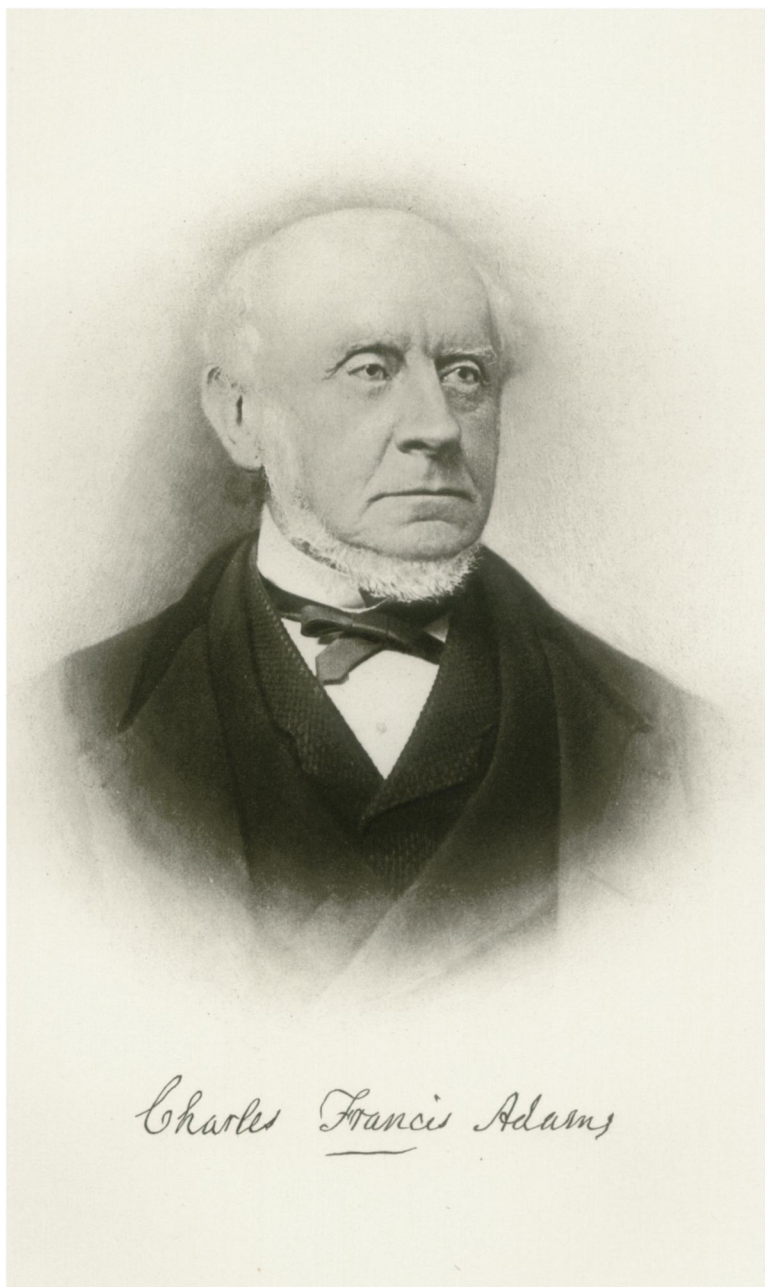
Remarks were made during the meeting by the Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR and by Messrs. WILLIAM S. APPLETON and CHARLES C. SMITH.

It was stated that the new volume of Proceedings, — Second series, Vol. XII., — and a serial comprising the record of the March, April, May, and June meetings, were published during the summer recess, and were ready for delivery to members who had not already received them.

M E M O I R
OF
HON. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D.
BY HIS SON, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

It now lacks but a few weeks of thirteen years since the death of Charles Francis Adams; and the last of the memorable public occurrences with which he was actively connected — the arbitration at Geneva — came to a close twenty-seven years ago. The time, therefore, is ripe for the publication of whatever of historical interest there may be in the papers left by Mr. Adams. No use whatever of these has hitherto been made. Including his letter-books, correspondence, and diaries, the accumulation is large; and while not so large, and much less important from an historical point of view, than the similar collections left by his father and grandfather, it contains much of public interest. This interest is almost entirely due to the close connection of Mr. Adams with the political movements and organizations which preceded and led up to the election of President Lincoln in 1860, and the diplomatic positions and controversies in which Mr. Adams took a leading part between 1861 and 1872. A biography of Mr. Adams, drawn from these sources, will shortly appear in the American Statesmen series, which will be readily accessible. A still more comprehensive work on a larger scale is now in preparation, and will probably be published at no remote day. Under these circumstances, as copies of both works will unquestionably be found in the Library of the Society, any detailed memoir of Mr. Adams in the volumes of its Proceedings would be manifestly superfluous. A reference to the leading dates and more noticeable incidents of his life will suffice.

Charles Francis Adams, third son of John Quincy and Louisa Catherine (Johnson) Adams, was born in Boston, on



the 18th of August, 1807; and on the 13th of the following month his father recorded in his diary that the child was that day christened, the first name "being in remembrance of my deceased brother," who had died in 1800, "and the second, as a token of honor to my old friend and patron," Francis Dana, who, in 1806, had resigned his position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts; but with whom, twenty-seven years before (1780) when a boy of fourteen, Mr. Adams had gone, as French interpreter and secretary, on a futile diplomatic errand to Russia. In 1809 John Quincy Adams was appointed by President Madison the first diplomatic representative of the United States at the Court of St. Petersburg; and when he went to his post, he took with him Charles Francis, then a child of two, who remained abroad with his parents in Russia and England eight years, returning to America in 1817. His education during that period was of a somewhat desultory character; but as a child he acquired a perfect familiarity with French, that being indeed his native tongue, — a fact which, fifty-eight years later, at the Geneva arbitration, proved to him an inestimable advantage. Preparing for college in the famous Boston Public Latin School, Mr. Adams entered Harvard in 1821, and was graduated in 1825, being then eighteen years of age. This was during his father's presidential term, and the next two years were passed in Washington, engaged in the study of law. Returning to Boston in 1827, he entered the office of Daniel Webster, as a student, and in 1828 was admitted to the bar, though he never was in active practice of law. In 1829 he married Abigail Brown Brooks, youngest child of Peter Chardon Brooks of Boston, who, after a married life of fifty-seven years, survived him, dying on the 6th of June, 1889.

During the ten years succeeding his marriage, Mr. Adams resided in Boston, devoting himself to study and the care of the family property. He also wrote articles on current political and financial topics for the newspapers, as well as several pamphlets, notably one still referred to as an authority, entitled "An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs," in which he discussed the much mooted question of the power of the President to remove officials without the consent of the Senate. He, also, during this period was a frequent contributor to the "North American Review," preparing for it some

seventeen articles and book-notices. In 1840 he edited, with a memoir of her life, the letters of his grandmother, Abigail Adams. In 1841 Mr. Adams was chosen one of the representatives from Boston in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and was re-elected in 1842 and 1843. In 1844 and 1845 he represented the county of Suffolk in the State Senate. During his legislative experience Mr. Adams prepared an elaborate report on the North-Eastern Boundary question, and took an active part in the discussion of all the issues which presented themselves during the then incipient stages of the anti-slavery agitation, especially the Latimer case, the expulsion of the Massachusetts agent, Samuel Hoar, from Charleston, South Carolina (December, 1845), and the annexation of Texas.

At this period of his life Mr. Adams affiliated with the Whig party, serving as President of the Boston Young Men's Whig Club during the Polk-Clay campaign of 1844; but later, when that party began to disintegrate, he identified himself with the portion of it known as the "Conscience Whigs," as contradistinguished from the "Cotton Whigs," — in other words, that section of the party which looked upon slavery, rather than the tariff, as the issue of the day. Sympathizing deeply in his father's course as the exponent of personal liberty and the right of petition in the National House of Representatives, Mr. Adams, in 1845, associated himself as editor with the "Boston Whig," a daily paper then struggling for existence in Boston, and was subsequently its principal proprietor. It became at once the organ of the "Conscience Whigs," and, under the leadership of its editor, that party assumed shape which, a little later, in 1848, taking the name of the Free Soil party, developed eight years further on into the Republican organization, and, in 1860, elected Mr. Lincoln. For three years Mr. Adams remained at the head of the "Whig," doing with undiminished zeal an immense amount of necessary but most ungrateful drudgery. Up to this time he had been held down rather than advanced by the overshadowing reputation of his father; but John Quincy Adams died in February, 1848, and, in June following, General Taylor of Louisiana was nominated as the candidate of the Whig party for the Presidency, as opposed to General Cass, the candidate of the pro-slavery Democracy. The "Con-

science Whigs" of Massachusetts, represented by Charles Allen, Stephen C. Phillips, John G. Palfrey, Charles Sumner, R. H. Dana, Jr., and Henry Wilson, with the "Boston Whig" under Mr. Adams's editorial management as their organ, refused to accept General Taylor as their candidate, and, making common cause with the element of the Democratic party who resented the nomination of Cass, called a convention in August at Buffalo, at which the Free Soil party was formed. Over this convention Mr. Adams presided, and, when Martin Van Buren was nominated for the Presidency, Mr. Adams, named by the delegation from Ohio for the Vice-Presidency, was unanimously selected. Though it carried no State, the strength developed by the Free Soil party in Massachusetts, Ohio, and the Northwest, foreshadowed the coming dissolution of the old organizations, while the Democratic disaffection in New York led immediately to the defeat of Cass. In the five States of Massachusetts, Vermont, New York, Ohio, and Wisconsin, the Free Soilers threw more than one-fifth of the entire vote cast, while in Massachusetts it astonished friends and opponents by a poll of nearly thirty per cent of the whole. As was remarked by keen political observers at the time, "taking into consideration its brief existence and formidable foes, such a display of strength on the part of a new organization was unprecedented"; and to it no single man certainly had contributed in greater degree than Mr. Adams. He, however, had now gone into a political minority, and during the next ten years no opportunity for political preferment presented itself. In 1848, succeeding to the family homestead on the death of his father, he changed his residence from Boston to Quincy, and in 1852 he was the Free Soil nominee for Congress in the Norfolk district; but there being, as the law then stood, no choice by a majority of votes cast at the regular election, the Democrats, at the special election which shortly after followed, refused to support Mr. Adams, and his Whig opponent was elected by a few hundred plurality.

At this time also Mr. Adams was thrown out of touch with the party he had done so much to build up, through its famous coalition, as it was then called, with the Democracy, — a political move engineered with great skill by Henry Wilson, afterwards Senator and Vice-President of the United States, which resulted in the choice of George S. Boutwell, Demo-

crat, as Governor, and of Charles Sumner, Free Soiler, as United States Senator. Though he rejoiced at the election of Mr. Sumner, then his close personal as well as political friend, the coalition itself was a piece of manipulation in which Mr. Adams would have no part. He regarded it as demoralizing political jobbery. This, though he made no open opposition, was well understood, and he, J. G. Palfrey, and others were quietly relegated into retirement. Through a petty village intrigue, springing from this cause, Mr. Adams was also, in March, 1853, defeated in Quincy at the election of delegates to the State Constitutional Convention of that year; and later, acting in concert with Mr. Palfrey, he took an active part in securing the rejection at the polls of the work of that body. The next year (1854) the Native American, or "Know-Nothing," movement developed itself, sweeping the Free Soil as well as the Whig party out of existence; and this left Mr. Adams, who was wholly opposed to both the principles and methods of the new organization, politically stranded. He no longer belonged to any organization.

He made good use of his enforced political inactivity. Shortly after his father's death he had undertaken the work, already long deferred, of preparing an authentic biography of his grandfather, John Adams, to accompany a publication of his writings and papers. This now appeared in ten volumes, the second of which was published in 1850, while the first volume, containing the life, last of the series in order of publication, was brought out in 1856.

In 1856 also Mr. Adams resumed his connection with political life; for the Know-Nothing excitement had now worn itself out, and was about to disappear before the new impetus given to the anti-slavery agitation through the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854, followed by the assault on Mr. Sumner in May, 1856. The Republican party rapidly crystallized. In June the Philadelphia Convention met, Mr. Adams being one of the delegates from Massachusetts, and a Vice-President. In the ensuing canvass he gave an earnest support to the nominees, Messrs. Frémont and Dayton, and the election of Mr. Buchanan in the following November was to him at the time a grievous disappointment. The Norfolk district, also, was a hot-bed of Know-Nothingism, and no vacancy in its representation yet presented itself. Two years

later his opportunity came, and in November, 1858, he was at last elected to Congress to the seat his father had vacated on his death ten years before. He served in one Congress only, the XXXVI., and during its first session was heard but little of, having, with great show of outward politeness, been practically ignored in the committee assignments; but in the following session, that of 1860-61, he came rapidly to the front. The exciting presidential campaign of 1860 had then just closed, and Mr. Lincoln was President-elect. His selection at Chicago in the previous June as the nominee of the Republican Convention was a great disappointment to Mr. Adams, who had been friendly to Governor Seward, between whom and himself warm personal as well as political affiliations had by degrees developed. Nevertheless, like Lincoln's unsuccessful rival, he loyally accepted the party decision, and during the canvass which ensued accompanied Governor Seward in an electioneering tour as far West as St. Paul. In October he was re-nominated for Congress without opposition, and re-elected by a large majority.

During the session which followed the election and preceded the inauguration of Lincoln, the course of Mr. Adams in Congress, strongly commended at the time, has since been by some sharply criticised. Coming at once into prominence as a leader, he represented Massachusetts on the Committee of Thirty-three specially appointed to devise, if possible, some feasible solution of the impending trouble. In this position he acted in close harmony with Governor Seward, already recognized as the Secretary of the Department of State in the coming administration. Like Governor Seward, Mr. Adams did not believe that a rebellion and actual warfare would occur; but, whether it occurred or not, he held that it was the part of wisdom to use every device of discussion to postpone acts of overt warfare until the possession of the national government had been transferred to loyal hands. To secure this result he was ready to go to the extreme limit of concession, short of the sacrifice of any real issue involved; and this attitude he developed in a speech delivered on the 31st of January, 1861, which at the time excited extraordinary notice and greatly enhanced his reputation.

In assigning positions under his administration Mr. Lincoln had intended to appoint John C. Frémont as Minister to France

and William L. Dayton to Great Britain, they having been the nominees of the Republican party for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency in the previous campaign of 1856. This arrangement was not in accordance with the views of Governor Seward, now at the head of the Department of State, who felt the necessity, in the critical condition of foreign relations with which he was called upon to deal, of having representatives at both London and Paris upon whom he could place absolute dependence. In consequence of his urgent remonstrance, Mr. Lincoln was induced so far to change his programme as to provide for General Frémont elsewhere, and, Mr. Dayton being transferred to France, Mr. Adams was nominated for Great Britain. He left for his post early in May, and represented the United States near the Court of St. James throughout the Rebellion and the larger part of the administration of Andrew Johnson, returning to America in May, 1868. His diplomatic life in England was at first troubled and anxious; but, after the close of the Rebellion in April, 1865, his position was probably more important and gratifying than has ever fallen to the lot of an American foreign minister. The belligerency of the Confederate States had been recognized by the governments of both Great Britain and France as early as the 13th of May, 1861, and before Mr. Adams reached Liverpool; thereafter it devolved upon him to deal with the violations of neutrality laws which incessantly occurred. His position was a most trying one, both socially and officially, as the sympathies of the commercial and financial classes, as well as of the aristocracy, were strongly with the Confederacy, and its early recognition was, even by the friends of the Union, regarded as a foregone conclusion. By temperament as well as by descent and education, Mr. Adams was peculiarly fitted for the position in which he was now placed. His limitations even, — an habitual restraint, a frigidity of outward manner, the lack of what is known as personal magnetism, — which in America always operated against him, were at that juncture in Great Britain positive and great advantages. There was about him a certain sturdiness and simplicity which commended themselves to the English mind; for "Englishmen are always ready to acknowledge in others the qualities they most value in themselves." These words were used of Mr. Adams twenty-five years later by James Russell Lowell, one

of his successors at the Court of St. James. At the same time Mr. Lowell also said of him, "None of our generals in the field, not Grant himself, did us better or more trying service than he in his forlorn outpost in London." Of great importance throughout, this service was especially so in September, 1863, when, as the result of Mr. Adams's urgent and persistent representations, the government stopped at Liverpool the Laird iron-clad rams, built for the Confederate authorities, designed to raise the blockade, and then on the point of putting to sea. So far as the danger of foreign intervention was concerned, this was the turning-point in the Rebellion, and it may be said that the Confederacy received at no time a severer blow, or one to it more disappointing. It was in this connection, and in reply to the announcement from Lord Russell that the government were "advised that they cannot interfere in any way with these vessels," Mr. Adams used the memorable expression, "It would be superfluous in me to point out to your Lordship that this is war."

Returning to America in May, 1868, Mr. Adams at once addressed himself to the task of preparing for publication the "Memoirs" of his father, President John Quincy Adams, drawn from the copious diary kept by the latter throughout his life. This appeared in twelve volumes between 1874 and 1877, completing the work assigned to himself by Mr. Adams in connection with the family papers he had inherited. Meanwhile, in 1872, he was again drawn into active public life. The treaty of Washington had been negotiated in the spring of 1871, and in it provision was made for what was subsequently known as the Geneva Arbitration, to dispose finally of the so-called "Alabama Claims," which had already in 1865 been the subject of a long diplomatic correspondence between Earl Russell and Mr. Adams. In the autumn of 1871 Mr. Adams was appointed by President Grant as the representative of the United States on the tribunal of Arbitration, and in November he sailed for Europe. The question of "indirect damages" was then unexpectedly injected into the American case, and for a time the whole arbitration was in imminent danger. It was finally through the management and resource of Mr. Adams that the difficulty was overcome, and the work of the tribunal was, in August, 1872, brought to a successful issue. The sum of \$15,500,000 was awarded as

the indemnity in money to be paid by Great Britain to the United States.

The presidential election of 1872 was then impending. The dissatisfaction felt in certain Republican quarters with the first administration of General Grant had led to a movement which resulted in the calling of a convention of so-called "Independents" to meet at Cincinnati in May to nominate a candidate for the Presidency in opposition to him. Mr. Adams's name was much discussed in this connection, and it was generally assumed that he would be the nominee; and yet at the same time he was offered the nomination of Vice-President, subsequently given to Henry Wilson, on the Republican ticket, of which General Grant was to be the head. This he declined; and the Cincinnati Convention by a narrow margin of votes nominated Horace Greeley.

Returning to America in November, 1872, Mr. Adams was not again in active public life. In the election of 1876 he supported Samuel J. Tilden, and, in consequence of Governor Tilden's urgent intervention, was nominated by the Massachusetts State Democratic Convention as its candidate for Governor. He consented to run, but neither expected nor desired an election. Had Governor Tilden become President, Mr. Adams would probably have been called upon to fill the position of Secretary of State; but for him it was fortunate that the disputed election was decided in favor of Governor Hayes, as age and the strain undergone in England during the Rebellion had begun to make themselves felt. Though he survived for ten years, Mr. Adams after 1876 did no active work, political or otherwise. He died at his residence in Boston on the 21st of November, 1886.

Besides editing the letters of Abigail and John Adams (1840-41), the Works of John Adams (1850-56), and the Memoirs of John Quincy Adams (1874-77), Mr. Adams, in addition to many other occasional addresses, speeches, and papers, prepared and delivered Fourth of July orations at Boston (1843), Quincy (1854), and at Taunton, Massachusetts (1876); an oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Chapter of Harvard University (1873); and an Address before the New York Historical Society (1870) on the "Struggle for Neutrality in America." In 1869 he was offered, and declined, the presidency of Harvard University immediately before Charles

W. Eliot was chosen to that position. He received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Harvard in 1864; declined the degree of Doctor of Civil Laws offered him by the University of Oxford in 1867; and was again made Doctor of Laws by Yale in 1872, on the occasion of the Geneva award.

Mr. Adams had seven children, five of whom, four sons and one daughter, survived him.